





John Carter Brown.

T. 1137.

A
Short and Impartial
V I E W
O F
The MANNER and OCCASION
O F T H E
Scots Colony's
Coming away from
D A R I E N .
I N
A Letter to a Person of Quality:

*Quia Veritas, propter Taciturnitatem, non lucet,
Mendacio se ingerendi, locus est. Tacit.*

Printed in the Year, M. DC. XC. IX.

A Short and Impartial

V I E W

OF

THE MANNER AND OCCASION

OF THE

Secrets of the

Coming away from

DARREN

IN

A Letter to a Person of Quality

By J. W.
The Author is

Printed in the Year, M. DC. XC. IX.

My Lord,

I Am so far from wondring at the extraordinary Concern which you are pleased to exprefs for the late bad News of our Colony's having come away from so Valuable and Impregnable a Settlement, as that of which they were Possess'd, in the very Navel of the Trading World (if I may properly so call it) that I should much more Wonder, if any Man who carries *Scots* Blood in his Veins, and pretends to have any regard either for the Honour, Interest, or Reputation of his Countrey, should not, upon so provoking an Occasion, contribute as much as in him lies, to retrieve so great a Loss at any Rate, and have a just Resentment against the Authors of so Surprising and Unaccountable an Emergency.

You tell me (which is true) that several People, according to their different Interests and Affections, as well as different Capacities to Penetrate into, and judge of, the true Grounds of so unexpected an Emergency, do vent their Opinions and Reflections variously concerning it : Some attributing it to the want of due Care in the Directors at home, to send Intelligence, as well as the needful Supplies of Men and Provisions to the Colony, in due time ; some to the Temerity, Imprudence and Incapacity, of those who were intrusted abroad, with the Management and Government of the Colony ; some (who you say are the far greater Number) to the effect of His Majesty's Proclamations issued forth in all the *English* Plantations of *America*, declaring the said Settlement illegal, and strictly intercomuning all Persons thereunto belonging ; And you are pleased to desire my Sentiments of the whole Matter.

It may possibly be reckon'd no small piece of Presumption in one of my weak Talent, to venture upon setting Pen to Paper, upon so Critical an Occasion as this is ; and how willing soever I might have been at any other time to gratify your Request that way, I must Confess, I am in so Splenetick a Mood, at this Juncture, that my Inclinations prompt me but very little to bestow my Time upon Scribbling :

A. 2.

Yet

Yet your Commands being always Indisputeable with me, I shall supercede my own Inclinations at this time, and freely give you my Thoughts of the Matter, with all imaginable Candour, as succinctly as I can, and commit the whole to your own Discretion, being well assur'd that you'l Advise nothing thereupon, but what you are fully convinc'd will be most Suteable to the Honour, Interest, and Reputation of the Nation, which (by the by) was, in my humble Opinion, never at a lower Ebb than at present.

That the Directors of our *Indian* and *African* Company at home, are no manner of way Chargeable with any Omission or want of due Care in making early Provisions for Supplies to the Colony, or with any Mis-managements in taking wrong Measures, upon some Occasion or other, or with too much Easiness and Credulity (as some do alledge) in suffering themselves to be Over-perswaded, or any otherways imposed upon by mercenary Pretenders, who at the same time might possibly have been the Tools for driving on a Foreign Interest, for selfish Ends, is more than I shall take upon me to maintain too positively in their behalf: But sure I am, the many Dis-appointments, Difficulties and wicked Contrivances, which they were all along oblig'd to grapple with, both Abroad and at Home, made their Part very uneasie, and were enough to daunt the Resolutions of any privat Society whatsoever; especially finding themselves so openly discountenanc'd by Authority, that the Adventurers were thereby discourag'd from paying in their Shares; yea in so much that the Directors were not only sheckled from pursuing many reasonable and convenient Measures that they had in View, but were also often oblig'd to pawn their own privat Credit for carrying on, and doing those things that were indispensibly necessary for supporting the common Interest, and wait for their Relief till a better Opportunity should offer.

But whatever Escapes they may be chargeable with, I dare confidently averr in their behalf, that they have Directed to the best of their Knowledge; and I doubt very much, whether the most part of
all

all those, who ever yet took the Liberty of Censuring their Actions, would have taken half so Rational Measures, had they had the same Game to play, and the same Difficulties to encounter with: For, as the Directors were Chosen by the Solemn Election and Suffrage of all the Adventurers in the Joint-Stock of the Company, (wherein the most considerable of the Nobility, Gentry, and whole Body of the Royal Burrows are concerned) so it must be allowed, that the Generality of those in the Direction, are Persons of as much known Honour, Probity and Integrity, and of as much Knowledge too, as can be found of any other Set of Men in the Nation: But the continued Thwartings that they met with from time to time, did not only necessarily retard many of their Measures, but made also some of those Measures prove altogether Abortive, tho' never so rationally projected: And it's very observable, that none have been more busy and meddling in Censuring their Conduct all along, and even at this time, than some who had little or no Concern in the Stock, and others who were ready upon all Occasions to throw Stumbling Blocks in their Way. But 'tis very easy, and no new Thing, to either Credulous Fools, or Designing Knaves, (who, alas! are by far, the greatest part of Mankind) to Censure the best of Mens Actions, without ever considering the Reasonableness of the Measures they take, or the Crossness of any Accidents they may meet with. And this brings into my Remembrance a Saying of the Renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Apology for his Voyage to Guiana: *As good Success admits no Examination, so the contrary allows of no Excuse, how reasonable or just soever.* And indeed the Poet is very just upon that Head:

----- *Careat successibus opto*

Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat. Ovid. *Epist.* 3.

It is very evident by the Strain of the Acts of Parliament and Letters Patent, establishing the said Company, that those who projected that Scheme had in View, sooner or later, no less Design than a Trade to both the *Indies* and to *Africa*, and that by a more immediate

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diat and much quicker Communication than was ever before practised by any Society whatsoever.

In order whereunto, those in the Management thought it was not only necessary, to establish a Free and Staple-Port in some convenient Place or Places on that *Isthmus* or Nick of Land, situated on the Height of the World, between the North and South Seas, formerly called *Darien*, or in some such convenient Place, but also to raise a Joynt-Stock suteable to the Greatness of such an Undertaking.

And not imagining that privat Hands in this Kingdom could of themselves be able to raise a sufficient Stock for that Purpose, the first Offer thereof was made to our Friends at *London*, who in nine days time concluded a Subscription there, of 300000 Pounds *Sterling*, and paid in the first fourth Part thereof either in Money, Bank-Bills, or Notes payable on Demand, and further declared their Willingness to Subscribe for as much more, if allowed: But you know how that Subscription was quickly render'd void by the Measures taken in the Parliament of *England*.

The next Attempt (you know) that the Directors made for strengthening their Stock and Interest, was to endeavour the procuring of Forreign Subscriptions for some considerable Sum; And in Order thereunto, upon repeated encouraging Advices from several Parts beyond Sea, but more especially from *Hamburg*, they sent some of their own Number, as Commissioners or Deputies thither, with whom soon after their Arrival, the Merchants of the said City of *Hamburg*, enter'd into Contract to joyn at least 200000 Pounds *Sterling* with the Company's Stock: But you know likewise, how the *English* Ministers there, did, under Pretence of a special Warrant from His Majesty, put a Stop thereunto, by giving in a Memorial to the Senat of that City, *Not only, disowning the Authority of the said Acts of Parliament and Letters Patent, but also threatening both Senat and Inhabitants with the Kings outmost Displeasure, if they should countenance or joyn with the Company's said Deputies, in any Treaty of Trade or Commerce.*

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Notwithstanding whereof, tho' the Council-General and Court of Directors of the said Company have, not only often Address'd and Petition'd the King and Privy Council of this Kingdom, but also His Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable Estates of Parliament at their last Session; And likewise, that the said Estates were thereupon pleas'd, by their Unanimous Address of the 5th. of August 1698 to His Majesty, *To manifest not only their own, and the whole Nation's Concern in that Matter, earnestly entreating, and most assuredly expecting, that His Majesty would, in His Royal Wisdom, take such Measures as might effectually vindicat the Undoubted Rights and Privileges of the said Company, and support the Credit and Interest thereof;* But were also pleas'd in the same Address, *To recommend the Concerns of the said Company to some special Marks of His Majesty's Royal Favour, as being that Branch of the Trade of this Kingdom, in which They and the Nation they represent, have a more peculiar Interest.* Yet (it seems) His Majesty has been all along so taken up with the far greater and more general Concerns of Europe, that, to this Hour, I have not heard of any manner of Redress that has been given in that Matter.

There were likewise considerable Steps and Advances made by several Merchants in *Holland*, particularly at *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, towards a Subscription there; But upon notice had of their Meetings with the Company's Deputies above-mention'd, and of the Success their Negotiations were like to have had, the most considerable and Leading Men of those Merchants, who had shew'd most Forwardness in that Matter, were sent for by some of the States, and threaten'd that Measures would be taken, to make them repent their Doings, if they persisted any further in Treating with the said Deputies, or if they would joyn with the Scots Company.

This, I remember, happen'd some Months before the *Hamburg-Memorial* above-mention'd was presented, which I confess makes it seem a Problem to me, as well as to many others that have heard of it, *Whether the English were influenc'd by the Dutch, or the Dutch by the English,*

glish, to deal so unkindly by us: But in short I think we may truly say with the Prophet, *The Syrians before, and the Philistines behind, &c. Isaiah, 9. 12.*

But to pass over all these previous Discouragements and Disappointments, and to come closely to the Point in Hand, The Colony that was first sent away in *July 1698*, for settling a Plantation in *America*, pursuant to the Instructions then given, carried along with them not only abundance of all Necessaries for such an Undertaking, but also such a Quantity of Provisions, as was calculated for a whole Year, and of some Particulars (namely Stock-Fish) what was computed might have served for near 18 Months: And for their further Security, in case those Provisions should happen to fall short, before Advice could be had of their Settlement, and the fresh Supplies of Provisions sent after them, there was likewise a Cargo of Sortable Goods, to the Value of about 16000 Pounds *Sterling* prime Cost here, sent along with them, at the absolute Disposal of the Council, for the Colony's Use; which Goods were either to be Traded with upon the Coast and *American* Islands, or Barter'd for Provisions and other Necessaries at the Council's Discretion, as should best sute with their Circumstances for the time. Yet such was the Directors Care of their Welfare and Safety, That, immediatly after their Departure from *Scotland*, the Directors did, upon the Encouragement of the Parliaments Address above-recited, apply themselves in a dutiful manner to His Majesty, by their humble Petition of the 16th. of *August 1698*, To bestow upon them, as a Gracious Mark of His Royal Favour, the Use of the two small Friggots. then (and to this Hour) lying uselefs in *Burntisland Harbour*; with Design to fit them out, as soon as possible, with Provisions and other Necessaries for the Colony; and appointed a particular Committee to wait upon the Chief-Men in the Government, to desire their Assistance in Seconding the said Petition: But in a short time thereafter, they found it necessary to call a Council-General of the Company, which accordingly met on the 5th. day of *September* following: And the Directors laying before

before them a Representation in Writing (which contained an Abstract of the then State of the Company's Affairs, together also with their own Opinion, what they thought necessary to be done by the Company at that Juncture, with relation to a Supply of Provisions and other Necessaries to be sent to the Company's Colony) they thereupon ordered a further Proportion of the Company's Joint-Stock to be call'd in, from the respective Proprietors for that Purpose.

And upon the 9th day of *November*, The Court of Directors did, upon the Prospect of the *Martinmas*s Payments, come to a Resolution, that a Ship of near about 200 Tuns burden, should be bought forthwith for the Company's Use, and that the buying and fitting thereof, as also the buying of the needful Provisions for a Supply to the Colony, should be referred to a Committee which was appointed for that End; but after enquiry made in several Places about such a Vessel, they could find none reported to be so fit for their Purpose, as one that lay then in *Leith-Harbour*, exposed to Sale; which one of their Number bought, with a special Condition to be free, if upon Survey she should not be found fit for the Company's Use : And upon the 14th day of *December* (which was near about four Months before any Word came from the Colony) the Court of Directors gave Orders to conclude the Bargain for the said Ship, according to former Agreement, and to fit her out with Provisions for the Colony, with all possible Expedition : But the Ship when bought (tho' a known prime Sailer, and after all the necessary Precaution had in buying of her) happening not to be so Sound as was expected, took a much longer time to be Repaired, than could well have been imagined, and could not therefore Sail as soon as was intended.

But in the mean time, the Directors being loath (it seems) to Trust to the said Ship only, in case of Accidents, made it their Business to find out, and purchase a good Sailing Ship, *English*-qualified, to be dispatched from *Clyde* with Provisions, and the needful Advices for the said Colony : And upon finding a Ship so qualified, she was

dispatched from *Clyde* upon the 24 of *February* last; but to the Company's and Colony's inestimable Loss, the said Vessel was cast away on one of the West Islands of *Scotland*: Of which Accident the *Court of Directors* had no Advice before the 11th. Day of *April*: And the Loss was still the greater in this, that she was bought so qualified, with a View to be serviceable to the Colony, not only in Trading upon the Coast, but also in running backward and forward, to and from any of the *English* Plantations, with Goods, Provisions, and Intelligence; she being qualified to touch there in the strictest sense of the *English* Act of Navigation.

You may remember likewise, that the other Ship abovemention'd was just ready to Sail about the latter-end of *March* last, being the time that the first Advices arriv'd here of the Colony's Settlement and good Condition: But the Directors having Intelligence of Three *Spanish* Ships of Force, that were to Sail about that time from *Cadiz* to the *West-Indies*, with a Re-inforcement of Men, Arms and Ammunition, for *Carthagera*, under the Command of *Don Piementel*, the present Governour of that City, and that he had particular Instructions, with relation to our Settlement; they thought it not safe to let the Company's said Ship sail alone; and therefore stopt her, till another Ship of Force might be got ready with Men and Provisions; which accordingly being got, both the said Ships set sail from *Leith-Road*, on the 12th. of *May* last, with a Recruit of 300 Men, about 900 Bolls of Wheat made into Bisket and Flower, as also a considerable Quantity of Pease, Pork, Oyl, Brandy, some Beef, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries; carrying likewise along with them Advices, that a much more considerable Recruit of Ships, Men, Provisions, Arms, Ammunition and other Necessaries, were to follow with all convenient Dispatch, under Convoy of the *Rising-Sun*.

And the Directors did accordingly dispatch the *Rising-Sun*, and three other Ships of considerable Force and Burthen, from *Greenock*, the 18th. Day of *August* last; tho' by contrary Winds they were stopt,

so as that they could not sail further than the Isle of *Bute*, till the 24th of *September* following: They had 1300 Men on board, with as many *Engineers*, *Fire-Workers*, *Bombardeers*, *Battering Guns*, *Mortars*, *Bombs*, and other Warlike Provisions, as (if safely arrived at the Colony in due time, and considering the Situation and natural Strength of the Place) might reasonably be presumed to have made it impregnable.

Nor was this all, for immediatly after the first Advice that the Directors had of the Colony's Settlement, they wrote back to the Colony, by the several Ways of *New-England*, *Jamaica*, *Barbados*, *Antegoa*, and the other *Leeward Islands*, that these Recruits above-mentioned were coming to them; and in the mean time, sent them an illimited and Discretionary Credit, for buying of Provisions from any of the *English* Plantations, if they should happen to stand in need thereof; Which Credit the Directors were induced to give, from an Assurance that they had given them, by several Persons at *London*, and in the *West-Indies*, of their good Inclinations to Supply the Colony with Provisions, if such a Credit were given; and for that end, Printed Copies of the said Credit were sent by the Way of *London*, to be disperfed over all the *English* Plantations in *America*. And upon the Faith thereof, several Sloops and Brigantins, freighted full of Provisions, were dispatched from the *English* Plantations to our Colony; particularly from *New-England*, *New-York*, *Road-Island*, and *Philadelphia*; tho', alas! they happen'd to be too late, those of the Colony being unluckily come away from *Darien*, some Weeks, before these Sloops could well be arrived there: So that this was no such Imaginary Credit, as some People would have us believe it to have been. Yea further, even before the said Credit was known in *America*, not only several Sloops went with Provisions from *Jamaica* to the Colony, and Barter'd their Provisions for other Goods: But also, a *New-England* Brigantin, freighted full of Provisions, sold her Cargo to the Council of the Colony, for Bills drawn by them upon the Company's Cashier here; Which Bills amounted

to about 700 Pounds *Sterling*, and were punctually paid accordingly. By which it may evidently appear, that if no extraordinary Methods had been used to put a Barr to their begun Correspondence, there had been little or no Occasion for any special Credit on particular Persons.

And upon the Directors having received the said surprizing and unexpected News of their Colony's coming away from *Darien*, they immediatly came to Resolutions of dispatching a particular Credit, with proper Advices, *per* Express to *New-York*, by a Vessel then bound thither, where they understood most of their Men were, and to send other Expresses, by several Ways, in quest of both the first and last Recruits sent to the Colony; with Orders to repossess themselves of their former Settlement, and to send Supplies of Provisions and other Necessaries after them, as soon as possible; and to have from hence forward some small Vessels or Advice-Boats, running continually, backward and forward, with certain Intelligence, between this and the Colony, their former way of Corresponding having (it seems) fail'd by reason of the Proclamations above-mention'd; as shall appear, more particularly, by and by.

And because the Expediting of those several Expresses, and sending a Credit for Provisions, and other Necessaries, could not admit of any Delay, at so Critical a Juncture, they frankly engag'd their own privat Credits, for those several Purposes, until the Company's own Money should come in to Answer the same; and in the mean time, they called a Meeting of the Council-General, who approved of those Resolutions: And several of the Councillours did likewise freely and generously joyn their own privat Credits with that of the Directors, for the Purposes aforesaid.

In Pursuance of which Resolutions, the Directors sent a Credit of 2000 Pounds *Sterling* to *New-York* by a Gentleman, whom they sent Express from hence thither, in the beginning of *October* last, with proper Instructions futeable to the Occasion.

They

They sent likewise at the same time, by a Ship then bound from the Downs to the *Leeward Islands*, and *Jamaica*, a new Councillour for the Colony, fully instructed in relation to this Emergency, with Orders to go with all possible Dispatch, in quest of the Recruits lately sent to the Colony: And the better to enable him to execute effectually what was then given him in Commission, he carried a Credit of 1000 Pounds *Sterling* along with him. Since which, they have, in the Month of *November* last, dispatch'd one of the Company's own Ships, full of Provisions and other Necessaries for the Colony, from *Clyde*; and sent another Councillour on board thereof, with a Credit of 500 Pounds *Sterling* more: And about the same time, they freighted another Ship, which sail'd from *Forth* sometime ago, to carry Provisions to the Colony: And (as I'm inform'd) are now upon dispatching forthwith two other Ships with more Provisions after them; the one from *Forth* and the other from *Clyde*; That from *Forth* being already agreed for, and bound by Charter-Party to sail (God willing) on the 20th. of *January* next.

Now this, being a short Abridgment of what I understand, may be offered in Justification of the Directors Care and Conduct: I shall now proceed to give you a short View of what occurs to me at present, with relation to the Conduct of those, who were intrusted Abroad with the Management and Government of the Colony, under the Name of Councillours.

That the Equipage sent by the Company on their first Expedition, for settling a Colony in *America*, was, in all Respects, superior to any that was ever before sent on the like Account, by any private Society in *Europe*, is what I never heard in the least contraverted: And as the Generality of the Men who went on that Expedition, gave former Proofs to the World, in their respective Stations, during the last War, of their Fitness for such an Undertaking; so it has been agreed upon, by all that ever saw them, not only when they went away, but also after their Arrival and Settlement in *America*, that they were, seemingly, as hopeful and promising a Set of Men, as
ever

ever were seen (to the Memory of Man) in those Parts ; had they been under the Government and Care of such Heads as were to be wish'd : But many People do say, that the Council appointed for the Government of the Colony, was composed of an odd kind of Mixture of Persons, of Heterogeneous Humours and Principles, and that few of them were fit for that Station.

The Truth is, whatever may be in this, I'm certain that the Directors were at no small Pains to invite such as they thought most capable for that Station ; but it not being publickly known, where they were design'd to settle, there were but very few Candidates ; and there's nothing I know better, than that those of them who were most strongly recommended as Persons of Capacity, Honour and Honesty, prov'd to be the least deserving of that Character, of all that went under the Denomination of Councillours.

I was told, indeed, that there was too much Emulation, Jealousy, private Animosities, and Pique among themselves; and that the bad Example thereof gave too much ground to believe, that the like Animosities were diffused among the inferior Officers and others, as they stood severally affected or engaged, more or less, to this or that Councillour : Yet, by the Influence of some few of the discreetest of their number, for above Eight Months time together, they had so much Prudence, as to stifle those Divisions (as much as possible) in all publick Concerns, for carrying on the common Interest ; as may evidently appear by the Unanimity and Discretion of all their Advices and Letters to the Directors at Home, as well as by their publick Transactions with such as had to do with them in *America* ; particularly in all their Transactions with the *Indians*, the President of *Panama*, the Governours of *Carthagera* and *Sancta Maria*, and the Commander of a *French* Vessel, which happen'd to be Shipwrack'd near their Settlement ; & their Diligence and Care in building of Houses, clearing of the Ground, and fortifying of their Settlement, in such manner, that it was look'd upon, by all that saw it, or had account of it, to be almost Impregnable ; till that about the latter-end of

March

March last, by reason of the Absence of some, and Indisposition of others, so few remain'd, that for some Weeks together, their Votes run generally split, being only two of a side, and consequently all Business almost at a stand.

Yet such was the Excellence of the *Constitutions* by which they were to Govern, that by means thereof, and by the Providential Recovery of one of their Number out of a desperate Sickness, to cast the Ballance, they quickly wrought their own Cure: For by the assumption of Three or Four New Councillours, and the humorous withdrawing of two of the Old, whose Places were thereupon deservedly declared Vacant; the Council wrought it self so into one piece, that their Actings look'd then, like that of one Man: And tho the Season had, all of a sudden; (as is said) sowed some of their Provisions (which continued very Good till the Rains came on in *April*) and tho their Men turn'd afterwards very Sickly upon their Hands; yet they were firmly resolved to maintain that Place and Interest to the last, as appears by the Letters which they dispatched Home upon that Occasion, pressing that Supplies might be sent to them with all Expedition.

And in the mean time, they not only engaged one Captain *Ephraim Pilkington* of *Port-Royal* (who had been, it seems, sometime in their Service, and was resolved to bring his whole Family to live in *Caledonia*) to return with his Shallop full of fresh Provisions and strong Liquors from *Jamaica*; but sent also a Sloop of their own thither, with Money and Goods to purchase Provisions; yet neither the one, nor the other, could have any, by Reason of the Proclamation that was published there sometime before: And it is very observable, that the said Proclamation, was, for haste's sake, published at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, upon a *Sunday*, being the 9th day of *April*, to stop two other Sloops that were ready to sail from thence next Morning, with Provisions and strong Liquors for *Caledonia*.

And the unhappy News thereof arriving at *Caledonia*, the 18th day of *May*, together with a Copy of the said Proclamation, as also

a wicked contrived Story, *That the Company at home had, upon some Occasion or other, Petition'd or Address'd the Parliament of Scotland, and that their Petition was unanimously rejected, and thrown with Disdain over the Bar;* the Council and Colony were, as it were, Thunderstruck all at once, with those Accounts, especially when they consider'd the Treatment which they knew the Company had met with at *London, Hamburgh,* and other Places, and the malicious Rumors that were industriously spread here, before they went away, of what the Parliament might possibly be induced to do; since it was whisper'd as if the Commissioner had had Instructions to lay an Embargo on the Company's Ships; and not having received one single Line from *Scotland* since their Departure hence, they were easily confirmed in the belief thereof, and concluded, *That certainly the Company was quite defeat and crush'd at home, and had not the liberty of sending so much as any Advice to them to shift for themselves.* All which Suggestions were so successfully improved by the Person, whom I have heard, most blamed upon that Occasion, that he found, at last, the said Proclamations gave him a Handle to say or propose any thing whatsoever, tho never so villainous; and particularly, *That as, by the said Proclamations, they were positively declared to have broken the Peace, by settling at Darien; so of consequence they were declared Pyrates; and that, as they could not think of staying there, abandon'd by all the World, so it would be dangerous for them to go to any of the British Dominions, for fear of Hanging:* And therefore propos'd, *that they should sail directly to Hamburgh, or some other Foreign Port, and dispose of the Ships and Effects; or at least to take up Money upon them, to pay the Seamen their Wages.* Which Pretence, he thought, might sufficiently baite many (at least the Seamen) to close with his Proposal: But the Proposal was so self-evidently Wicked, Unnatural, and Inconsistent with the Trust reposed in them by the Company, that it was exploded with Reproach, by all those who had any Honour or Honesty in them, and so fell to the Ground; Tho' the coming away was what few or none (it seems) said any thing material

rial against, after having got those Accounts: Nor indeed can I see what could well be retorted to Captain P-----k, when he urged that all the Arguments made use of for staying, were grounded at best but upon Suppositions; whereas their Reasons for coming away, were grounded upon real Things, viz. the Proclamations, want of Intelligence, and scarcity of Provisions. And indeed it must be allowed, that if no such Proclamation had been published, he durst never have had the Impudence to have made such a wicked Proposal, at least so openly, as is above narrated.

Now to recapitulate the whole Matter, you see the sum of what those in the Colony do offer in justification of their coming away, is their being in such desperate Circumstances, that in a crowd of confused and perplexed Thoughts, they believed the longer they would stay there, the worse it would be for them: Because several Species's of those few Provisions which they had left, were rotting (as they say) upon their hands; most of their Men fell sick and weakly, with but slender Hopes of their Recovery, for want of fresh Provisions, strong Liquors, and good Looking after; and were out of all manner of Hopes of getting any Supplies, by reason of the Proclamations, and the Story above-narrated, especially having had no Word from *Scotland* all the time; which fully determin'd them in that Fatal Resolution of coming away, (Bag and Baggage) Steering their Course to *New-York*, in Hopes to get some Provisions there, in Barter for Goods, which might carry them to *Scotland*: But how Inhumanely they were Treated by the Government there (tho' the Generality of the People were inclined to be kind to them) in their distress'd Condition, is too well known; as is also the Barbarous Treatment, which those on board the *Saint-Andrew* met with, from the Government of *Jamaica*, upon her being (it seems) forced in there by Stress of Weather, and to shun the *Barlavento-Fleet*, which gave her Chace for some days.

By all which, (if true, as is, indeed, generally said and believed) it seems to me naturally conclusive, that, tho' I'm far from setting

up to justify any Escapes or Omissions, that the Directors at Home may be truly chargeable with, or to lessen any Imprudence, Rashness or Divisions, that I have heard the Council of the Colony blamed for; yet the Burden of the Song still rests on the Effects of those Proclamations; because that, if those Proclamations had not been published, I am morally assured, that even the grossest Mistakes in the Management, either at Home or in the Colony, would have been soon mended of Course, from the Experience that must have been had of the Consequences of their own Omissions and Mistakes.

And whoever would be at the pains, but to examine the first Conduct and Management of the most Flourishing Trading-Companies this day in *Europe*, might easily find, that they have, not only in their Infancy, but even after a much longer standing, been guilty of, at least, as gross Mistakes and Omissions, as any that I ever, as yet, heard the Directors of our Company justly charged with, and that there is no such thing to be precedent, or, indeed, reasonably expected, as Infallibility in any Humane Conduct; especially in a Matter, where of the good, as well as the bad, Success must necessarily depend on a great many unforeseen Accidents.

And yet the Truth is, after all, The most Plausible and Material Objections, which I have heard suggested against the Foresight and Care of the Directors at Home, are, *1st*, That they employed Persons in Fitting out the Ships, Goods, Provisions, and other Necessaries for their first Expedition, as made no Conscience of the Trust reposed in them; for that the Numbers, Quantities and Qualities of those Goods and Provisions, were far short of what they were given out for, and some of them rotten, even before they went from hence. And, *2^{ly}*, That they should Trust to the Uncertainty of a Correspondence, by the Way of *England*, and the *English* Plantations, and not be at the Charges of sending Letters and Advices frequently by some Packet-Boats of their own, directly from hence to the Colony; which would undoubtedly have prevented their coming away in such Despair of being relieved from hence, as they say they did.

To

This seems indeed, at first View, to be a heavy Charge, tho' it may be justly Answered for the *Court of Directors*, First, That those employed by them, for the Purposes aforesaid, were not only of their own Number, and chosen by the general Suffrage of the Adventurers in the Joint-Stock; but were also reputed Merchants of considerable Substance and Dealing, and might therefore be reasonably presum'd, not only to have understood that Matter of buying and providing Goods, Provisions and other Necessaries for a Sea-Voyage, better than those Noblemen and other Gentlemen in the Direction, who never had Occasion formerly to be concern'd in a Matter of that Nature; but also, that they themselves being considerably interested in the Joint-Stock, and intrusted with the particular Stock, of many of their own Friends, Relations and Acquaintances, and indeed with that which they must needs have known, was of Universal Concern to the whole Nation; That they would act at least as tenderly and conscientiously therein, as any other Persons whatsoever, who were not so immediatly concerned.

And for these few Directors, who were employed for buying those Goods and Provisions, I dare confidently affirm, in favour of some of them, that they not only understood, and were pretty much accustomed with Dispatches of that kind, (tho' differing perhaps in the Degree) but that they acted also with as much Care, Diligence, Integrity, and real Zeal for the Company's Interest, as any in the Kingdom could have done; so that I reckon, whenever that Matter is fully inquired into, and all Circumstances considered, it will be found, that there was no such great Abuse, in either the Quantities or Qualities of those Goods and Provisions, as some would have us believe there was: Tho' at the same time, (I must confess) I have, from the beginning, heard one or two of those Directors extremely blamed, for making some Bargains for the Company, with an alledged visible Advantage to themselves: And tho' it must be granted, that it were much better for the Company's Interest, they had never acted with any such Selfish View; yet, granting they did so, (which I do not believe) it is very possible, they might have contrived

trived Matters so, as to have some Advantage by those Bargains to themselves, and yet the Company be no great Losers thereby.

Just as I had done writing of the foregoing Paragraph, I came to the Knowledge of a Declaration made by Captain *Robert Drummond*, Commander of the Company's Ship, the *Caledonia*, now lying in *Clyde*, with relation to the Premises; And because of the extraordinary Patness thereof, I procured an exact Copy of it, which I send you hereunto subjoyned.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHereas I understand, that some People take the Liberty to say and give out, that our Provisions, which we carried along with us from Scotland, were, for the most part, rotten and damnified, before we scarce got to our Voyage's end; and that some of them were quite spoiled; even before we went from hence: I think my self, in Duty and Honour, bound to declare, That on board your Ship the *Caledonia*, which I have the Honour to Command, all the Flower and Oat-Meal kept good till the Month of April, yea some part thereof until the latter-end of June, as did also the Gray Pease; till we had little or nothing of them left, in the latter-end of April: And as for the Bread, Beef and Pork, they continued sound and good, till the very last Pound Weight of them. It is true, the Irish Beef (tho' very sound) was nothing near so good as the Scots Beef; for which Cause we expended it first. And as a Proof of the Scots Beef's being extraordinary, when I came from on board on Friday the 15th. instant, I left four Barrels of it on board as sound as ever it was, and Dined on a piece of it very comfortably that same day, as did also the whole Ships Crew, and I doubt much, whether it may not be all eaten up by the Seamen before now, tho' they have other Provisions on board.

I have sailed for the space of eight Tears together in America, and I must needs say, I never in all that time had Provisions which held out so well, which I have often signified to several Persons in our passage.

ALL

All this is true, as I shall answer to my Maker, and (if required) shall be own'd by the whole Crew. Witness my Hand at Edinburgh the day of December 1699. I am,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

To the Right Honourable, The Court of Directors of the Company of Scotland, Trading to Africa and the Indies.

*Your Lordships most Humble and most Obedient Servant,
ROBERT DRUMMOND:*

Nor is this all ; for the said Captain *Robert Drummond* declared further to my own hearing at one time (several other Gentlemen being then present) and at an other time (as I am positively informed) before Mr. *Mackenzie* the Company's Secretary, and Mr. *Hamilton* Clerk of the *Canongate*, at the Ship Tavern, That he the said Captain *Robert Drummond* caused Over-haul all the Goods and Cargo that were on board the said Ship under his Command, when they lay in *Caledonia*-Harbour, and that, upon his Conscience, there was not one Cask, Pack, Bundle, or Bale, in the whole, when he compared the Contents with the Invoice, but what contained full as much as was charged in the said Invoice ; excepting only one Bundle of Twine, which he said did not contain much above half of what it was charged for ; and some Hundreds of Sail-Needles too, which he said was wanting out of a Bundle that was charged in the said Invoice.

He declared likewise at the same time, That all the time he was in *Caledonia* he never saw one Piece of Beef or Pork, but what he himself, or any other Sea-faring Man, might make a hearty Dinner on ; but that possibly such as were all their Days accustomed to nothing else but fresh Provisions, could not think so well of it.

Now, after so positive and solemn Declarations made by the Person who, of all Men living, should (and I believe does) know best what was under his own immediat Care, I must beg leave to say, that it cannot but grate upon the Spirit of any good Man, to find with what an intolerable Liberty *Malice*, *Envy* and *Ignorance* have, as it were,

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combined together to derogat from the just Merit of those Noble and Worthy Persons, who are concerned in the Management of the Company, by endeavouring to asperse their Conduct, as if (forsooth) they had acted like so many Fools or Knaves, or both; when, indeed, by what is already said, it may evidently appear to any Unprejudiced and Impartial Judge : That (considering the Novelty of the Undertaking, the many unexpected Difficulties they met with, the Odness of the Tools they were oblig'd to make use of, the Slowness of Payments from the Subscribers, and the Faintness of any Countenance they had from Authority) they have acquitted themselves of their Trust, far beyond what could be reasonably expected from (perhaps) any Sett of Men in the Nation : And I dare confidently averr, That some of them have often neglected their own privat Affairs and Interest by their close Attendance and unwearied Endeavours to promote that of the Company; without the least Prospect of having any Immediat or Particular Advantage thereby, other than the Glory of being the Chief Instruments for laying the Foundation of, and Carrying on, so Great and Good a Work, for the General advantage and Credit of the Nation, as well as for the Particular Benefit of the Adventurers. And the Matter being so; I hope, no Good Man will think it Presumptuous in me to say, that it may, perhaps, be thought some kind of Reflection on the Justice of a Nation, that the unbridled Licentiousness of some Peoples Tongues and Pens against them, should pass so long unpunished; when there's nothing more certain, than that Impunity hardens and confirms Men in their Wickedness : For Proof whereof, we see that some of those Persons who first begun to vent their Malice against the Company, only by Whispers and slye Insinuations, stick not now to break out into open Exclamations; Magnifying their own Prophe-tick Spirits (forsooth) as if they had foreseen all the Misfortunes that must necessarily have attended the Affairs of a Company, that was under such Management; making even the very Wisest, and most Considerat Actions of the Directors Conduct, the Subject of their
Buffoon

Buffoonry and Ridicule; And that they may the better, not only impose on the credulous and ignorant Multitude; but also distract and confound the Judgement of even Discreet and Unbiass'd Persons, they make it their daily Divertisement, first to hatch, and then give Wing, to an indefinit Number of detracting and slanderous Stories, that have as little of Truth in them, as the Authors have of either Probity, Honour or Honesty: And knowing that these spurious Brats of their own Invention, cannot possibly be long Liv'd, because a very short Period of Time must, of Course, necessarily demonstrate their Falseness, they providently take care to have whole Troops of them ready at Command, to succeed one to another, thereby to amuse the Brain-sick Multitude, with continued false Alarms; and having already, by such Means, declared themselves so openly Enemies, not only to the Directors, but to the Undertaking in General, they think (it seems) that since they cannot Reasonably expect to regain their lost Credit with the Company, they had best (according to the common Course of the most Wicked of all Sinners) endeavour to justify always one Crime by another greater than it self: And *Juvenal* alludes very concisely to such sort of Men, in his 6th Satyr.

Fortem animum præstant rebus quas turpiter audent.

But how agreeable soever the Poisonous Wit of such Envious and Designing Slanderers, may possibly seem to many of the Heedless, Unwary, and Giddy-headed People of this Age, yet what mean Opinion the Generous and Wise *Romans* entertained not only of them, but also of such as gave them any Countenance, may be seen in the few following Lines of *Horace*.

----- *Absentem qui rodit Amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus Hominum, famamque Dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissa tacere
Qui nequit; hic Niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*

But

But above all, The grossness of these Mens Folly does manifestly appear by these Words of Solomon: *He that hideth Hatred with Lying Lips, and he that uttereth a Slander, is a Fool*, Prov. 10. 18. And tho w secure soever these Fools, Scoffers and Slanderers may imagine themselves to be at present, we have Assurance from the Words of the Wisest of Men, that they shall not always escape unpunished: *Judgements are prepared for Scorners, and Stripes for the Backs of Fools*. Prov. 19. 29.

As to the second Objection, concerning Advice-Boats not being sent directly from hence to the Colony; It is an easy Matter, after an Accident is over, to propose such a Remedy, as might have prevented that Accident: But who could have dream'd of such Proclamations, unless we had been at open and declared War with *England*? And in the Name of Wonder? who could ever have imagined, that such Rigorous Proclamations, or indeed any at all, should be issued forth against us, in the Name of our own Sovereign, who gave our Company first a Being, and of whose Protection, we had all possible Assurance, not only, in common, with the rest of the Nation, as we are his Subjects, but in a very special manner, by the Concessions of his Royal Grant, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, as well as by three several Acts of Parliament in favours of our Company.

By the first of which, namely the 32^d. Act of the 4th. Session of this current Parliament: "It is specially provided for the Encouragement of such, as should become Adventurers by Joint-Stock
" in carrying on of Trade to the *East or West-Indies*, or to the Coast
" of *Africa*, That if, in their Endeavours for the Advancing and
" Promoting of Trade to any of the said Parts, they should happen
" to be attack'd, violently seized, or otherways disturbed by Persons
" not in open War with Their Majesties; That then, and in that
" Case, Their Majesties would be pleased to order, that the Recovery of the Ships and Goods so seized, or otherways molested
" and hindred, be carried on and prosecuted by publick Means,
" and at publick Expence.

By

By the 32^d. Act of the 4th. Session of this current Parliament, "The
 " said Company is not only Impowered to Equip, Fit, Set out, Freight
 " and Navigat their own, or hired Ships, in Warlike or other manner,
 " as they shall think fit, to any Lands, Islands, Countreys or Pla-
 " ces in *Asia, Africa* or *America*: and there to plant Colonies, build
 " Cities, Towns, or Forts in, or upon, any Place or Places not Inha-
 " bited, or in, or upon, any other Place, by Consent of the Natives
 " and Inhabitants thereof, the same not being possess'd by any *Eu-*
 " *ropean* Sovereign, Potentat, Prince or State; and by Force of
 " Arms to defend their Trade and Navigation: As also to make
 " Reprisals, and to seek and take Reparation of Dammages done by
 " Sea or by Land, and to make and conclude Treaties of Peace and
 " Commerce, with the Sovereigns, Princes, States, Rulers, Go-
 " vernours or Proprietors of the aforesaid Lands, Islands, Countreys
 " or Places, in *Asia, Africa* or *America*; But also, His Majesty, a-
 " mongst several other considerable Concessions, is graciously plea-
 " sed to promise, " that if contrary to the Rights, Liberties, Privi-
 " ledges, Exemptions or Agreements mentioned in the said Act,
 " or contrary to the general Treaties of Peace and Commerce be-
 " tween His Majesty and any Potentat, Prince or State, in Amity
 " with His Majesty, the Ships, Goods, Merchandise, Persons or o-
 " ther Effects whatsoever belonging to the said Company, should
 " happen to be stopt, detain'd, embezel'd or away taken, or in a-
 " ny sort prejudg'd or damnified, that His Majesty would interpose
 " his Royal Authority to have Restitution, Reparation, and Satis-
 " faction made, for the Damage done, and that upon the publick
 " Charge.

And by the 3^d. Act in favours of the Company, namely the 42^d.
 Act of the 5th. Session of this current Parliament, " It is specially
 " statute and declared, that, for the Encouragement of *the Compa-*
 " *ny of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, it should be lawfull
 " to the Magistrats and others, the Administrators of the common
 " Good

“ Good of Burrows; as also, to the Deacon, Masters, and other Administrators whatsoever of any Incorporation, or Body, or Company incorporated or Collegiat within this Kingdom, to adventure, and
 “ put in, Money belonging to their respective Administrations, in
 “ the Stock of the said Company : Which they could not warrantably do without some such Act.

And seeing the whole Body of the Royal-Burrows, and the most considerable other Incorporations and Bodies Collegiat in this Kingdom, as well as many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and particular Burgessees did, upon the Faith of those Acts, become Adventurers in the Joint-Stock of this Company, it were almost an absurd thing in the Directors, (especially when perhaps all the Money they were then Masters of, was not sufficient to answer the Company's pressing Occasions) to have been at the trouble & expense of setting up Packet-Boats, as a Remedy against the Effects of Proclamations, which, I may say, would have been undutiful in them to have dreaded.

But yet, to let you see the Effects of those Proclamations, even in point of bare Correspondence; I do assure you, that several of the Company's Packets directed to the *Council* of their Colony, under cover to particular Friends in the *English* Plantations of *America*, are to this Hour lying in the Hands of those Friends; who wrote back hither, “ That by Reason of the Strictness and Severity of those
 “ Proclamations, they durst not venture to foreward the said Packets to the Colony; because, if they should happen to be discovered in holding any such Correspondence (as Ten to One but they
 “ would) the least that they could expect, was Confinement, and
 “ to be afterwards fined at the next Grand Session, by the Discretion of a Jury, and that the Discretion of that Jury would be directed by the degree of Love they bear our Country, and the Wishes they have to the Prosperity of an Undertaking of this Nature. By which it is plain, That the Proclamations have put a stop to the Colony's getting Intelligence from hence, and that if no such Proclamations had been issued forth, there had been no such indispensable

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Necessity for Packet-Boats, to have been sent directly from hence to the Colony, at least before the Directors had an account of their Settlement, as some mighty Pretenders will tell us now there was.

And yet nevertheless, it's evident by what has been already said, that the Directors did positively intend to have dispatched a Vessel with Advice and Provisions to the Colony very soon after their Departure from *Leith*; and for that end, used all other endeavours by Petition, and otherwise, to have procured one or two of the small Friggots, which are still lying useles in *Bruntisland-Harbour*, as being the fittest they could think of, for that Purpose; and in regard that the Parliament was pleas'd to order the building of those Friggots for the Security and Advantage of the Trade of the Kingdom, and that the Conclusion of the General Peace, took away all manner of Occasion for them in the narrow Seas, it was thought they could not be otherwise so well imploy'd, as in carrying on and supporting the Designs and Interest of this Company, especially since the Estates of Parliament, by their Address, formerly recited, were pleas'd to express a singular Concern for it's Prosperity and Welfare. And if the Directors said Petition had been seconded, as well as was expected, and that they had got the Use of all or any of the said Friggots, there had been, in all probability, no such occasion of Clamour against them, as now there is, for not having sent any Ships directly from hence to the Colony, soon enough, with Provisions and Intelligence.

But nevertheless, 'tis likewise evident, by what has been already narrated, that upon the Directors losing Hopes of procuring any of the said Friggots, they came to a positive Resolution of dispatching a small Vessel, directly from hence to the Colony, with Advice and Provisions, in the Month of *January* at furthest; tho', as cross Fate would have it, she happen'd to be such a Ship, as could not well be fitted out for such a Voyage, in some Months time thereafter: Upon discovery whereof, they fitted another small Vessel, which sail'd from *Clyde* in the Month of *February*, but was unluckily Shipwrack'd

by a violent Storm on the West-Coast of *Scotland*, as I have formerly narrated.

Yet still there are some, who (right or wrong) will have the Management bear the sole Blame of all the Misfortunes that have happen'd to the Company and Colony, and stick not to say too, that the Colony's coming away, in the manner they did, was not occasion'd so much by the Effects of those Proclamations, as by the Treachery and Villainy of some of their own Number.

Well, let us for once suppose there was Treachery in the Case; does that lessen the Effects of those Proclamations? No certainly, but rather aggravates: For if there was any Treachery in the case, these Proclamations gave the Traitors a better Handle to work by, than any other Pretence they could have made use of.

I would gladly know further, whether we can suppose there could be Treachery, without supposing at the same time, that some Person or other must have brib'd the Traitor? And if so, it seems natural to believe, that none would be so ready to do that, as some of those who were concerned in issuing forth those Proclamations: So that still we are cloyen to pieces with a Wedge of the same Timber.

Nay further, what if (notwithstanding of those Proclamations) the Colony had never budged, but remained still in their Settlement, in a flourishing Condition; and that they had been in such Circumstances, that the Proclamations could have done them no Harm? Shall any Man therefore maintain, that the issuing forth of those Proclamations was a good and harmless Thing? Sure no Man has Face enough to say so: For, their having, or not having, the design'd Effect, could not at all alter the Nature or Intention of them.

But really, for my part, I cannot conceive how it could be possible, for a Colony, consisting of the King of *Britain's* Subjects, to have been in any such good circumstances, but that those Proclamations must necessarily have done them a vast prejudice, if not ruin'd them: For, suppose that in the Month of *May* last, when they got the first Copy of the *Jamaica*-Proclamation, they had been all in perfect
Health

Health and Vigour, and had had plenty of fresh Provisions, strong Liquors, and all other Necessaries whatsoever, lying by them in store; What then? Must they not have seen at first view, and considered, that by the said Proclamation *they were declared to have actually broken the Peace entred into with his Majesty's Allies, by settling at Darien*; and that therefore they must expect to have been treated as Pyrates? Must they not have considered, that tho' the said Proclamation was emitted against them in the King of *England's* Name only, that yet the same person was King of *Scotland* also; and that the Matter being so, they could have but small Hopes of being vigorously protected by the King of *Scotland* against the King of *England's* Proclamations? Must they not have considered, that their then declared Enemies, the *Spaniards*, would undoubtedly be thereby encouraged to pursue their Ends against them with greater Assurance and much more Vigor, than perhaps otherways they durst have done? Must they not have considered, that upon every the least Discontent or capricious Humor of any of their own People, this Proclamation would be made use of as a Handle to be very troublesome and uneasy to the rest of the Colony? (as indeed it has been to their sad Experience) Must they not think, that since the said Proclamation was published in his Majesty's Name, that undoubtedly it must needs have been legally founded upon some positive Law, tho' they knew nothing of it? And must not the Consideration of all these together, have distracted and confounded the Thoughts, Resolutions, and Measures of any Sett of Men that could have been in the Colony? unless they had unanimously resolved to have turn'd Pyrates indeed; and to have cast off all manner of Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty; And in that same case, they must have resolved to have been dis-own'd by *Scotland*, as well as by *England*: And if so, pray from whom then must they have expected Protection?

And here I cannot suffer my self to pass by, without taking notice of some Persons, who would pretend to palliat or skin over
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any thing that may relate to those Proclamations, upon a Suggestion, as if they had been (forsooth) necessarily emitted in compliance with, and in prosecution of, an alledged *English* Act of Parliament; and that therefore any particular Person or Persons, cannot well be quarrelled for the same: Which being a Suggestion that cannot well be obviated, without having recourse to the *English* Acts of Parliament; and but few People here having occasion to be acquainted with them, I reckon it may not be thought much amiss to touch such of them, as can any ways relate to the Matter in hand, and shall therefore do it as succinctly as I can.

Every Body knows, that by the *English* Act of Navigation, 12. Car. 2. Cap. 18. *It is Enacted, that no Goods shall be imported into, or exported out of, any of the English Plantations in America, in other Vessels than such as belong only to the People of England, or Ireland, or Wales, or Town of Berwick, or any of the said Plantations; and whereof the Master and three Fourths of the Mariners shall be English, under the Pains and Penalties mention'd in the said Act.* Since which time, neither we, nor the People of any other Nation, can pretend to any Right, or Freedom of Trade and Commerce, with the said Plantations, except in Ships qualified as above: So that the having of any such Freedom, is what the Company never contended for.

By the very same Act, *It is likewise specially Enacted, that no Sugars, Tobacco, Cotton-Wool, Indicoes, Ginger, Fustick, or any other Dying Wood, of the Growth of any English Plantations in America, shall be transported to any Place, other than to some English Plantation, or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Town of Berwick, on pain to forfeit both Ship and Cargo.* And this being a particular Enumeration of the several Commodities, which are prohibited by the said Act to be transported into any Place or Plantation belonging to Foreigners; it follows of Consequence, That all manner of Provisions, and other Necessaries whatsoever, which were not prohibited by the said Act, might be transported from the *English* Plantations, in Ships qualified as aforesaid, whethersoever the Master should think fit.

And

And that it has been, all along, the constant Practice of such Masters, as Sail commonly from *New-England*, *New-York*, and the other Northernmost Plantations of *America*, to do so, is what, I suppose, none that knows any thing of that Trade will deny: And tho', upon Complaints made, in the Year 1695, to the Parliament of *England*, of some Frauds and Abuses committed in the Plantation-Trade, contrary to the Act above-recited, they thought fit to superinduce some new Act, with very strict Clauses, to inforce, and put in Practice, the true Intent and Meaning of the said first Act; yet I dare adventure to say, that no Man can let me see an Act of the Parliament of *England*, laying any such Restraint on the Inhabitants of the *English* Plantations in *America*, as that they cannot carry or sell Provisions to any Forreign Place or Plantation whatsoever: Which makes the Hardships of these Proclamations still the greater in this, that we, who are His Majesty's own Subjects, should be denied the common Benefit of having our Colony supplied with Provisions, from the *English* Plantations, by *English* Vessels, in the ordinary way of Commerce; while, at the same time, it is most certain, that neither the *Dutch* at *Curacao*, the *Danes* at *St. Thomas*, the *French* at *St. Christophers*, *Martinico*, *Petitguavis*, or *Hispaniola*, nor the *Portuguese* at the *Maderas*, or *Tessera-Islands*, were, ever to this Hour, denied the Benefit thereof, except in the Case of declared War: And even then too, the selling them Provisions, and perhaps some other Merchandise likewise, is often wink't at; as is at this time, the carrying of Provisions, Negro's and other Commodities, from the *English* Plantations, to several parts of the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West-Indies*: So that, to our Comfort, we are the only Nation under Heaven, (that I could ever yet hear of) against whom any such Proclamations have been published by the *English*, in their *American* Plantations.

Nor was it thought enough, that, upon the first Orders sent from *England*, dated, as I am informed, the second Day of *January* 1695, the said Proclamations, against our Colony, were published

in *Barbados* and *Jamaica* in the Month of *April*, and in all the other *English* Plantations, in some short time thereafter; But that, upon second Orders, a second Fleece of Proclamations should be likewise published by the same Persons, and in the same Places, to let the World see that the first were not grounded upon Mistake, but that they were resolved to make their Putt good: For upon the 5th day of *September* last, a second Proclamation, pretty near in Substance with the former, was published in *Barbados*; and some of those lately come from *New-York*, in the Company's Ship the *Caledonia*, do Report, That three or four Days before they set sail from thence, there were fresh Orders arriv'd at *New-England*, for emitting and publishing second Proclamations in those parts, against our Colony; which gives us sufficient ground to believe that like Orders were sent to all the other Plantations.

Yet such as have a Mind to be Talking, will always find something to Amuse the Multitude withal, be it never so little to the purpose: And thus we find some People still urging, that notwithstanding of those Proclamations, some Inhabitants in the *English* Plantations, who are Zealous Well-Wishers to this Undertaking, have, since the Publication of those Proclamations, sent some Sloops and Brigantines to the *Colony*; and that therefore the Proclamations were not the Occasion of the *Colony's* coming away from *Darien*, but that the same proceeded from other Causes; and that if the *Colony* had staid still, and maintain'd their Settlement, more Sloops and Brigantines would, beyond all peradventure, be sent to them from time to time, till the Company's own Ships should arrive there.

Well! All this is very plausible; and I think our Nation, as well as the Company, is very much beholden to the Generous and Kind Inclinations of those Gentlemen, who ventured any part of their own Interest so frankly, to support that of the Company or Colony: But, as it happen'd, Pray what was the Colony the better for it? Did any of those Sloops or Brigantins arrive at *Darien*, before the Colony's

Colony's Departure thence? Or had the Colony so much as the least Advice, that any such Vessels were a-coming to them? No certainly, I suppose no Man can or will say so; And without that, they say nothing at all: For, how mean soever my Opinion may perhaps be of the Colony's Conduct and Resolution, not only upon that unlucky Occasion, but in other Respects too: Yet I have so much Charity, as to believe sincerely, that if they had expected any such Vessels to have come to them with Provisions, in any reasonable time, or if they had known, that they had any such real Friends and Well-Wishers in the *English* Plantations, as it seems they had, or that Supplies and Recruits were so near them coming from *Scotland*, that they would not have come away from *Darien*, at least, before they had had some certain and positive Orders from the Company, how to behave with relation to those Proclamations: But so it is, to their own and the Company's Sorrow, as well as the Nations Disgrace, whatever may be the Occasion of it, away, you see, they are come, as ill Luck would have it:

Quæ volunt Fata, non tollunt Vota.

Upon the Directors having received certain Intelligence of this Tragical and Unexpected Emergency, they laid the whole Matter in Writing before the Council-General of the Company; who thereupon thought fit, in most Dutiful and Humble Manner, to represent the same to His Majesty, by their Petition of the 29th. of *October* last, wherein they seem to intimat, that without some special Testimonies and Evidence of His Majesty's Gracious Favour, and Royal Protection, as well as the Assistance of a Parliament, they could not well expect, but that the best of their Endeavours, for carrying on and supporting an Undertaking of this Nature, must prove altogether vain: And therefore, their Petition consisted briefly of two Articles, 1st. *That His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take off the Force and Effects of these Proclamations; And, 2^{dly}, That His Majesty would allow the Parliament to meet in November last, it being adjourn'd till that time.*

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They at the same time Address'd His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, with relation to the Contents of their said Petition to His Majesty; But what the Privy Council did therein, I know not: And as for His Majesty's Answer to the said Petition, you have already seen it, so I shall not presume to make any Comments upon it.

However the Council-General of the Company having, it seems, about the beginning of this Month, resolv'd to Address His Majesty, in a most Dutiful Manner, upon an other Head; And considering, that none of their former Addresses or Petitions had such Success, as they could have wish'd for, and that they were all transmitted, in the ordinary way, to the Secretary of State, in waiting for the time; they resolv'd to send this Address by one of their own Number, who should, at the same time, have particular Instructions with relation to the Contents of their former Petitions, and should carry along with him Letters to the Secretaries of State, intimating his Business and entreating their Concurrence.

Whether this Method may produce better Effects than their former, I know not; but some People are pleas'd to prognosticate, that if in this as well as in former Ages, there should happen to be any such Favourites or Courtiers near his Majesties Person, as may perhaps endeavour to make a Monopoly of the King's Ear, that it will never be pleasing to such to see any Corn pass by their own Mills; and that therefore they may readily endeavour to give it a State-Turn: But until I see it, I shall never suffer my self to believe any such thing; for as the King is a Gracious Prince, so his Ears will be equally open to all his People.

I am inform'd, That the *West-India* Merchants, or at least their Agents at *London*, are now preparing a Representation to be made (if not already done) complaining that the Proclamations which were published in the Plantations, strictly forbidding them to carry or sell Provisions or other Necessaries to the *Scots* Colony, are contrary to their Rights and Liberties, and prejudicial to their Interests; and that the Friends of the several Governours, who publish'd those

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Proclamations happening to hear thereof, are endeavouring to stifle these Complaints as much as they can : But what Truth there may be in this, a little time must shew.

I am likewise just now told, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to declare that he knew nothing of those *West-India* Proclamations, till he had seen Copies of them come from thence: And if indeed it be true, that his Majesty has said so (as I hope it is) I reckon it would be no very hard Matter to name some few Persons who have a great deal to answer for.

I remember the judicious *Montaigne*, in his political Essays, observes it, as a Misfortune commonly incident to a Nation that is under the Government of a Prince living in another Country, That any Nation so situated, is seldom or never Govern'd according to the real Inclination of the Prince, or the true Interest of the People; so much as according to the Humors, Affections, and Designs of his Ministers : For that he seeing only with their Eyes, and hearing but with their Ears, cannot possibly know the true State, Condition and Interest of a Distant Nation, nor the Humors and Inclinations of its Inhabitants, any thing near so well as if he lived amongst them.

Seneca in his Treatise of Benefits, puts the Question, *Quid omnia possidentibus deest ?* What can a Man want that has every thing? And he answers himself, *Ille qui verum dicat.* One that will tell him the Truth. And really of all Men living, I think Kings and Princes stand most in need of having such Men near their Persons.

And I wish, from my Heart, That all those who, at any time, have occasion to be at the Helm of publick Affairs in any Kingdom or State whatsoever, would seriously consider what the Learned and wise Statesman; *Sir Francis Bacon* observes by way of Precaution, in his Judicious and Celebrated Essays. “ As for Discontentments “ (says he) they are in the politick Body like to Humors in the “ Natural, which are apt to gather preter-natural Heat, and to en- “ flame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this, “ whether they be Just or Unjust : For that were to imagine People

“ to be too Reasonable, who do often Spurn at their own Good :
 “ Nor yet by this, whether the Grievs whereupon they rise, be in
 “ Fact great or small ; for they are the most dangerous Discontent-
 “ ments, where the Fear is greater than the Feeling. *Dolendi mo-*
 “ *du, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same
 “ things that provoke the Patience, do withal mate the Courage ;
 “ but in Fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be se-
 “ cure concerning Discontentments, because they have been often,
 “ or have been long ; and yet no Peril hath ensued : For as it is true,
 “ that every Vapour or Fume doth not turn into a Storm ; so it is
 “ nevertheless true, that Storms, tho’ they blow over divers times,
 “ yet may fall at last : And as the *Spanish* Proverb noteth well, *The*
 “ *Cord breaketh at the last, by the weakest Pull.*

One Material Passage I had almost forgot : Upon the first Advice
 that the Council-General of the Company had of the Colony’s safe
 Arrival and Settlement in *Darien*, they gave His Majesty an Account
 thereof, by a very Dutiful Letter, bearing Date at *Edinburgh*, the
 31st. Day of *March* last, wherein they particularly condescended
 upon its being “ a Place Uninhabited, and never before possess’d by
 “ any *European* Prince or State whatsoever, and that upon the Re-
 “ quest, and with the Consent of the Neighbouring Natives, they
 “ Landed and Settled there, (which consequently made it a Place
 precisely in the Terms of His Majesty’s Acts of Parliament and Let-
 ters Patent) “ And withal, that they were positively informed,
 “ that the *French* had a Design upon all that Coast, or at least to
 “ make a Settlement some where thereabouts ; And therefore hum-
 “ bly offered to His Majesty’s Consideration, how that the firm
 “ Settlement of the *Scots* Colony there, might be a Means of pre-
 “ venting, or at least, lessening the evil Consequences that might
 “ arise to His Majesty’s Kingdoms and Dominions every where, by
 “ the Settlement of any powerful Forreign Neighbour in, upon, or
 “ near any part of that Coast ; And therefore confidently expected
 “ His Majesty’s Royal Favour and Protection, in the Maintainance
 “ of

“ of such an Important Settlement, as having, in all the Steps of
 “ their Conduct, through the whole Course of this Affair, strictly
 “ observed the Conditions required by the said Acts of Parliament,
 “ and Letters Patent.

And in another Letter, at the same time, to both the Secretaries of State, they have, amongst several other Particulars, the following Paragraph: “ As to the *French* Designs of settling thereabouts, (meaning on the Coast of *Darien*) “ it is a Point not to be doubted
 “ of; for, in order thereunto, they have already been Tampering
 “ with several of the Natives, some of whom they have endeavoured to have carried into *France*; and we have very good reason
 “ to believe, that a further Progress had been made in that Matter
 “ before now, were it not the daily Expectations which that Court
 “ had of the King of *Spain*’s Death. Which, we humbly conceive,
 “ is a Matter worthy of His Majesty’s Consideration, and of no
 “ small Concern to the Interest of his whole Dominions, tho’ this
 “ Nation, and our Company, may seem to be more immediatly
 “ interested at present.

And to certify further, That the *French* designs upon that Coast did not consist in Imagination only; Mr. *Paterfon*, one of the Councilours of the Colony, and Captain *Robert Drummond*, Commander of one of the Company’s Ships the *Caledonia*, have, by Declaration under their Hands, signified to the Directors, the Contents of a Letter written in *March* last, by the Governour of *Portobell* to the Commander of a *French* Sloop, which was imployed by the *Spaniards* to perswade the *Indians* of the *Samballo’s* to join against the *Scots* Colony at *Caledonia*. The Letter was written in *Spanish*, and found in a Bottle by some of our Colony on board of the said Sloop, near the *Samballos*, where she was left deserted and owned by no Body; and the Contents of the said Letter is in Substance as followeth. Sir, I have received Advice from Monsieur Du Cass, Governour of *Petitguavis*, wherein he assures me, that rather than fail, he will come himself in Person; but however, he will send four *Friggots* to assist us in rooting
 the

the Scots out of Darien. You may assure Ambrosio, Corbet, Pedro, and the rest of the Indians of the Samballos, That if they continue to help, and keep Correspondence with the Scots, that not only the Spaniards, but likewise the French, will revenge it upon them: But if on the contrary, they will join with us to destroy and root out these Scots, they shall be well rewarded and gratified for their Pains.

I shall make no Reflections on this Matter, nor shall I pretend to Prophecy; but any one of but an ordinary reach in Speculation, may easily see, that it's very possible there may be such a Juncture of time, that the *English* Nation may come to wish, that this Company had never met with such unreasonable Obstructions in the prosecution of their Designs, as they have done: Nor am I out of Hopes of seeing, perhaps, some of the wisest Men of our Neighbouring Nation, become so sensible of the Folly, as well as the Injustice of the unaccountable Treatment which the Company met with, that they may think it their Interest, even to contribute to the Maintenance of such an important Settlement on that *Isthmus*, which now affords so much Matter of Speculation to the most considerable Courts in *Europe*.

Præstat sero sapere, quam nunquam.

My Lord, I need not tell you the Ferment that the Body of the Nation seems to be in, upon Account of the Disasters and Misfortunes, that have attended the Undertakings of this Company; and really, since the Affections, as well as the Interests of many People seem to be wrapt up in its Fate; I wish, with all my Heart, that those at the Helm would think of falling upon some agreeable Expedient, for quieting the Minds of People upon this Head, by doing something or other, that may let the World see, that the Company is not so destitute of Protection, in the Prosecution of its Honest and Lawful Undertakings, as now (alas!) it seems to be.

Now if it should so happen, that through the Stupid Ignorance of some, the Supine Neglect and Indifference of others, the Industrious Suggestions and Malicious Detractions of a Third, the Dreaming Delusions and Imaginary Fears of a Fourth, the Servile and Mercenary

nary Backwardness of a Fifth, or the Humorsom Factions and Divisions of a Sixth Sort of People, the Body of the Nation should be discouraged from concurring unanimously, in representing the whole Nations Concern in this Matter to His Majesty, and in endeavouring to procure some Gracious Marks of His Majesty's Royal Favour and Protection to the Company; Or if that, through the want thereof, together with the Company's other Misfortunes, the Designs of so Noble, Great and Generous an Undertaking should happen to be frustrated, and that so many brave Men as are lately sent to maintain the Company's Settlement in *Darien*, should perish in the Design (which God forbid) as most of those that went on the first Expedition did; then may we justly expostulat with Heaven in the Words of the Royal Psalmist upon an other Occasion, *Thou makest us a Reproach to our Neighbours, a Scorn and a Derision to them that are round about us. Thou makest us a By-word among the Heathen, and a Shaking of the Head among the People,* Psalm 44. 13. 14.

But I am still in Hopes of better Things, and that all those, in whose Power it is, in their several Capacities, to contribute any thing towards the aiding, assisting, carrying on, supporting or protecting this Noble and Just Undertaking, will, sooner or later, be of Sir *Francis Bacon's* Opinion, in his Excellent Essay upon Plantations, where he hath the following Words; *The Principal Thing that hath been the Destruction of most Plantations, hath been the Base and Hasty Drawing of Profit in the first Years: It is true, speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the Good of the Plantation, but no further.* Then, after having given his full Advice and Opinion, in many Useful Particulars, in the Way and Manner of Settling and Carrying on a Plantation, he concludes expressly thus: *It is the Sinfullest Thing in the World, to forsake or destitute a Plantation once in Forwardness; for besides the Dishonour, it is Guiltiness of Blood of many Commiserable Persons:*

Tunc cede malis, sed contra audentior ito

My

My Lord, I am not ignorant of my own Incapacity, for Discussing Judiciously such Intricat Points, as are interwoven throughout this Letter : But according to the Information that I have had, (which I dare say is pretty good) I have endeavoured, as near as I could, to place every particular Matter of Fact in its due Place, according to Order of Time, and to assert nothing as such, but what I have unquestionable ground to believe is Truth.

I have studied throughout the whole to shun Personal Reflections as much as possible, but if any particular Person fancy to himself, that he is comprehended under this or that general head, let him blame his own Actions for bringing him under any disagreeable Predicament : If I seem to shew any more than ordinary Zeal in the just Vindication of the Management, it is because I have seen it so very lately attacked in such a publick manner as was not expected. I am,

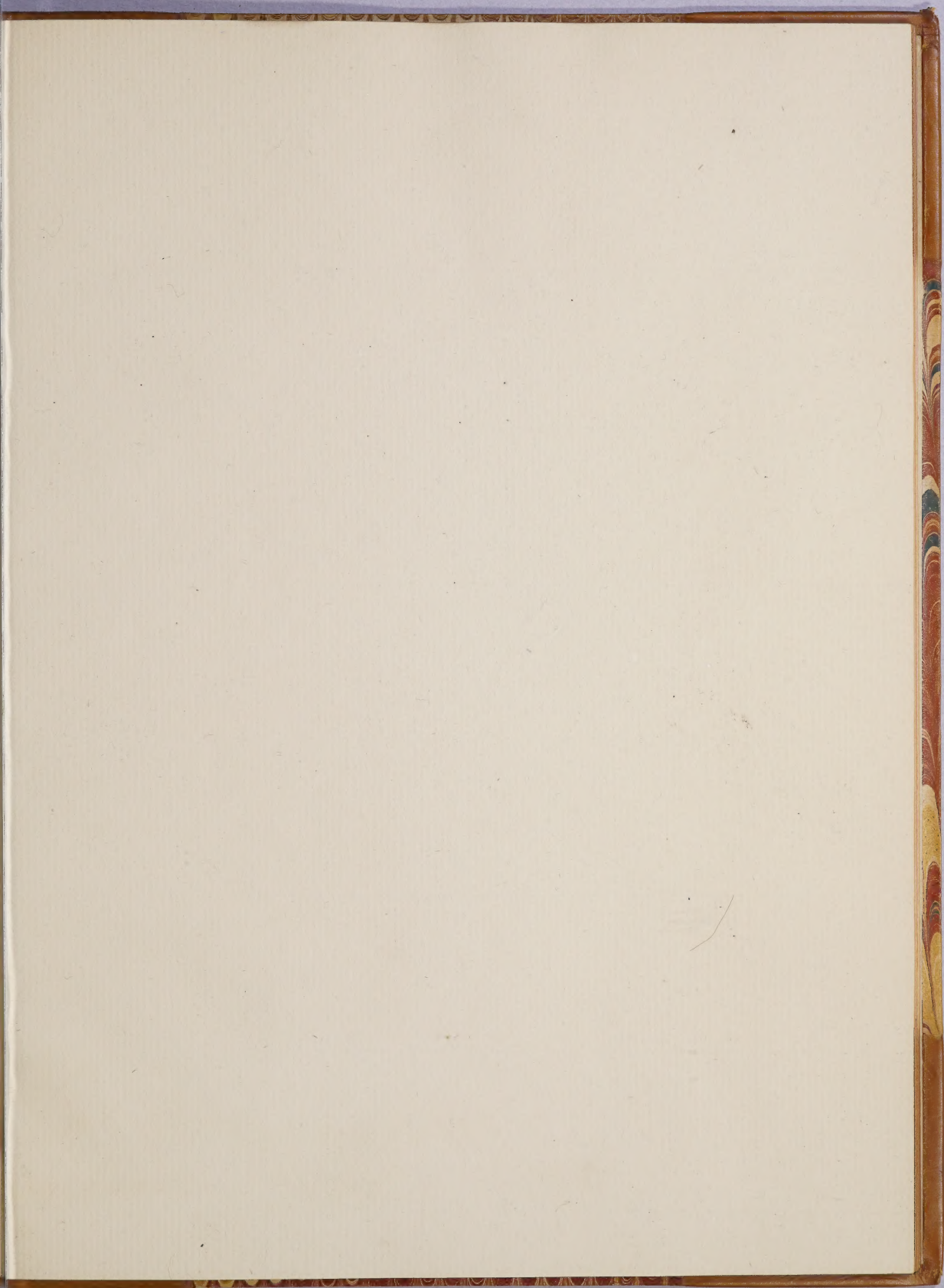
My Lord,

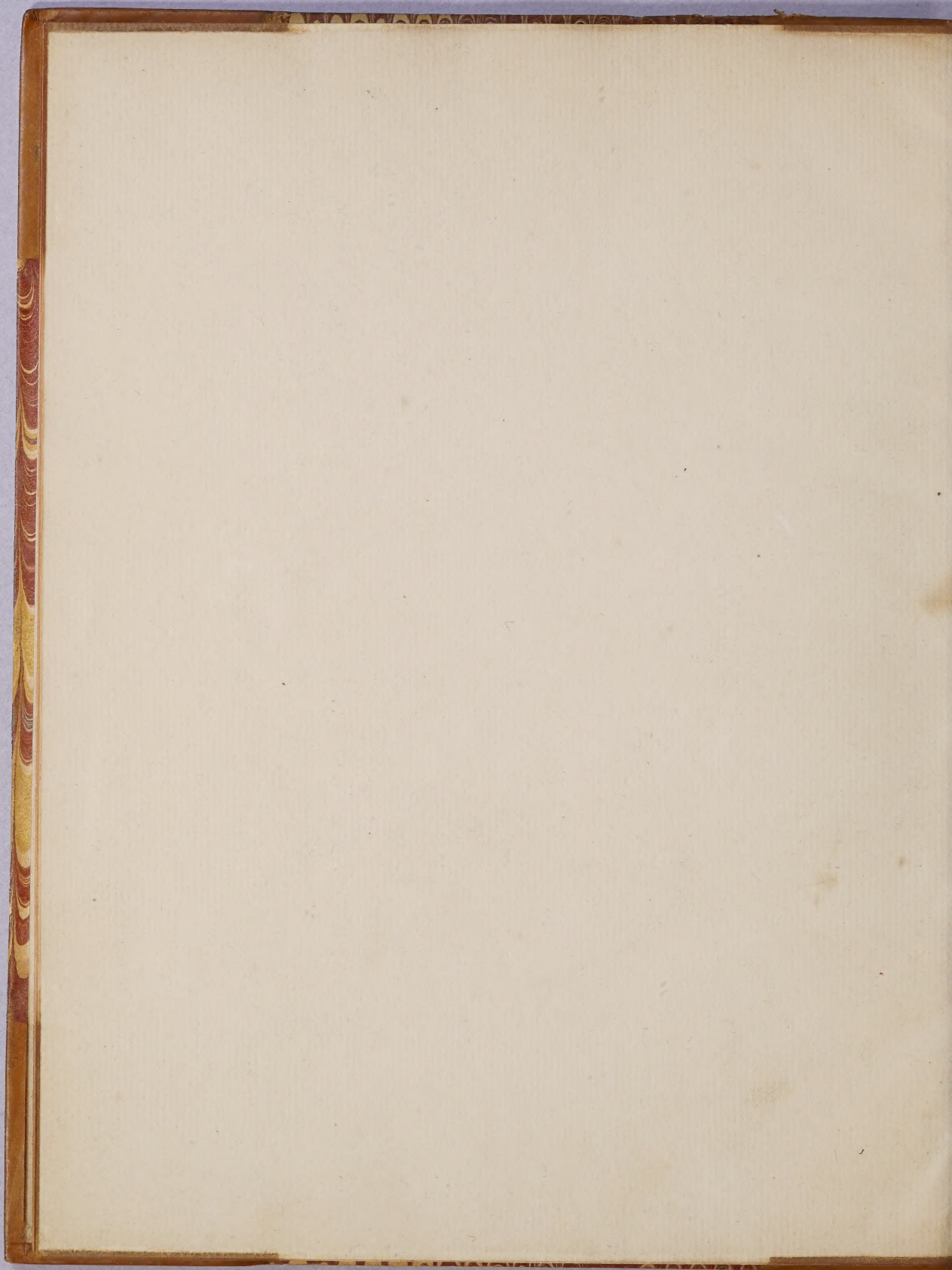
Your Lordship's most obedient Servant.

P. C.









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